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AUTHOR Seckinger, Beverley
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ABSTRACT

Following its independence from France in 1956, Morocco declared Arabic its official language. Successive policies of Arabization have been devised with the aim of ultimately converting French language domains into Arabic ones. However, there are two kinds of problems with the way the Moroccan language situation has been described and analyzed for policy formation: (1) models of language use treating oral and written language varieties as distinct systems are inaccurate and idealized, and (2) implementing Arabization is a slow, uneven process. In the process of changing from one language use system to another, many individuals fall into the cracks created by the changeover. Some are trained in one language and expected to function in another, and some are partially trained in one language and expected to complete training in another, without adequate preparation. This is the case in Morocco, where the normative policies do not accurately reflect the sociolinguistic situation. These problems have important implications for planners and policymakers, who must accurately assess the situation before acting to change it. A three-page reference list concludes the document. (MSE)

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Implementing Morocco's Arabization Policy: Two Problems of Classification*

Beverley Seckinger

short title: Implementing Morocco's Arabization Policy

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Introduction

From 1912-1956, Morocco was governed as a French Protectorate. During those years, the French established an administrative network of government ministries and bureaus, a system of secular schools, banks, telephones, post offices, roads, and railways. All of these structures officially operated primarily, if not exclusively, in French. Following independence from France in 1956, the Moroccan constitutions (of 1962, 1970, and 1972) declared the kingdom a "sovereign Muslim state, whose official language is Arabic." To get from such a declaration ("selection of norm", to use Haugen's (1983) terminology) to its "codification", "elaboration" and "implementation", successive policies of "Arabization" have been devised and legislated, with the aim of ultimately converting those French-run domains into Arabic ones.

The discussion that follows suggests two kinds of problems with the ways in which Morocco's language situation has been described and analyzed, and with the policies that have been formulated to reshape that situation: First, models of language use which treat the oral and written language varieties used in Morocco as distinct codes/systems--i.e., in context X, speakers use language Y (or language Z) -- are inaccurate idealizations of how language distribution "ought" to look, and inadequate to capture the high degree of code-switching and -mixing that characterize much of language use in Morocco. Second, implementing Arabization policy is a slow, uneven process. In the course of the changeover from one system of language-use to another--a change officially considered to be for the (eventual) good

of Moroccan society --a great many individuals unfortunately fall between the cracks created by these changing systems. Either they are trained in one language, then expected to work in another, or they are partially trained in one language, then expected to continue their training in another, without sufficient preparation. Both problems stem from a gap between tidy theory and an untidy world, where languages can't be classed into separate boxes, nor peoples' use of them be guided into restricted paths. Both problems have important implications for planners and policy makers, who must accurately assess situations before acting to change them.

After a brief description of the languages of Morocco, and the kinds of sociolinguistic statements about their distribution which are commonly made (see Boukous, 1979a and 1979b, Moatassime, 1974, Abou-Abdou, 1984), the course of post Protectorate (1956-present) Moroccan language policy is outlined. These discussions are followed by a series of ethnographic observations, offered to illuminate some of the gaps between typical sociolinguistic profiles of Morocco and the normative policies which reflect them, and actual language use in several contexts.

The Languages of Morocco

Berber

Estimates of the number of native Berber-speakers in Morocco range from 40% to as high as 60% of the population (for example, see Moatassime, 1974,p. 641). Many rural-dwelling Arabic-speakers, too, acquire some familiarity with Berber through contact with their neighbors and schoolmates. Three major dialects are usually

identified (Tarifiyt, Tamazight, and Tashelhit)[1], each characterized by much internal variation, not only from region to region, but from village to village, and even from one hillside to the next. Many of these varieties, particularly at the far ends of the geographical spectrum, are not mutually intelligible, so that Berbers from different dialect areas usually communicate with each other in Moroccan Arabic (Gravel, 1979: 78).

Arabic

The dialect here termed "Moroccan Arabic" is also characterized by internal variation. Gravel speaks of an "urban variety" that traces its origins to the language of the first Arab conquerors in the late seventh century and, later, to the colloquial speech of the Spanish-Arab refugees (moriscos), and of a "rural variety...brought into Morocco during the nomadic invasions of the Beni Hilal Arabs in the twelfth century" (1979: 92). Boukous distinguishes three types of Moroccan Arabic, "according to the ethnic origins of their speakers" (1979a: 18) which he terms "city Arabic", "mountain Arabic," and "Bedouin Arabic." Heath (1983) writes of "a considerable range" of Moroccan (Colloquial) Arabic dialects, split up along geographical-regional, urban/rural, Muslim/Jewish, adult/child, male/female, and elegant/vulgar lines. Despite such variation, though, and despite the fact that it is often possible to identify a speaker on the basis of what Heath calls "telltale indicators" (of geographical and social information--phonological, morphological, and lexical), these various sub-dialects are essentially mutually comprehensible, and will hereafter be referred to collectively as Moroccan Arabic (MA).

Classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an and of Classical poetry, is still used in

religious and traditional literary contexts, while Modern Standard Arabic, an updated/ing version of the Classical language (see below) is used for television newscasts, newspapers and magazines, modern literature, descriptions and instructions printed on packaged products, etc. The functional range of Modern Standard Arabic is being expanded in the course of its modernization and standardization. Because, for the purposes of this paper, the important contrast is not between these two varieties, but rather between both of them, on the one hand, and MA on the other, both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic will henceforth be referred to under the common rubric of Standard Arabic (SA). Although the grammatical categories of SA and MA are generally similar or even identical, and MA vocabulary retains numerous SA cognates, the two forms of Arabic may be described as "distinct languages with many differences in segmental phonology, canonical-shape norms, and morpheme structure"(Heath, 1983: 63), as well as in syntax and lexicon. For detailed discussions of the structural differences between SA and MA, see Heath, 1983, or Abbasi, 1977.

In spite of its use as a national lingua franca across a broad range of contexts [2], and the fact that it is natively acquired, while SA is not, MA has never been seriously considered in policy decisions. "Because of its close relationship with the Qur'an," SA is regarded as " divine and sacred... the correct form of Arabic and the one form of it for people to learn" (Abbasi, 1977: 90)[3]. In an attitudinal survey of Arabic-French bilinguals in Fes, SA ("Classical Arabic") was overwhelmingly judged the "richest" and "most beautiful" of the languages used in Morocco (Bentahila, 1983). On a similar questionnaire presented to students and literate professionals in Casablanca, virtually all respondants chose SA as the language they "would like to see adopted in schools" (Abbasi, 1977: 183), citing its "purity/standardization," "linguistic superiority,"

"historical legacy," and its political "necessity" as a step toward pan-Arab unity, as the primary reasons for their choice. Conversely, MA was regarded as "impure", "aesthetically and expressively inferior", a "deformation of language", and therefore "should not, according to 94% of the participants, be a language of education and literacy" (Abbasi, 1977 188, 230). This type of reasoning seems to be widely accepted by the lay public, as well as by professional and policymaking groups in Morocco, and therefore SA has always been the variety to be officially planned for and legislated.

European Languages

Of the European languages used in Morocco, French is still by far the most influential. As the linguistic legacy of the 44-year Protectorate period, French remains an important language of administration, education, technology, tourism, television, and conversation in diverse contexts. Spanish, leftover from a longer but less pervasive colonialism (see Abbasi, 1977,) can still be found in the cities of the north, and has left its mark particularly on some of the northern sub-dialects of Moroccan Arabic. Finally, English--perhaps as an alternative to the lingering, post-colonial bad taste of French, but also due to the spread of computer technology, American products, British and American music, and increasing numbers of English-speaking tourists, as well as may other factors--is steadily growing in use, popularity, and, for some, a certain chic-ness.[4]

Language and National Identity

In addition to their communicative functions, each of these languages plays a distinct role in the construction of Moroccan social reality and the shaping of Moroccan national identity (see, for example, Gallagher, 1964, Moatassime, 1974, or Hamzaoui, 1976). The indigenous language before the Arab conquest of the late seventh century, Berber has had the longest history of any of these languages within Morocco. But while things Berber--songs, dances, traditional arts and dress--are often ceremoniously displayed as living (and lucrative) symbols of Morocco's "cultural heritage" (one glitzy example of which is Marrakech's annual Festival national des arts populaires), the Berber language has been scrupulously ignored by official language policy. If Berber "traditions" are on the one hand a source of national pride (and income), Berber-ness also stands for backwardness to many of those most anxious to urbanize and "modernize" Morocco. The Berber language may be considered suitable for singing folk songs, but policymakers apparently do not find it an appropriate medium for news broadcasts, classroom study, or publication (the works of Ahmed Boukous provide interesting discussions of a variety of attempts to extend the use of Berber into these areas).

By contrast, French represents technological, economic, and even "cultural" development (that is, the dubious "progress" of Westernization) for many Moroccans, and is frequently flaunted as a badge of "modernity". As noted above, French is still spoken and written in a number of contexts, but attempts are being made to replace it with SA in the course of Arabization (see below). Other European languages function in similar ways, if to lesser extents, since considerably fewer Moroccans speak or write them fluently.

Standard Arabic is both a symbol and a vehicle for not only pan-Arab and Islamic unity, but Moroccan unity as well; its high esteem is unparalleled among the great majority of Moroccans, regardless of their SA fluency (see Abbasi, 1977, or Ferguson, 1959b). Although Moroccan Arabic has no official national status, the percentage of MA speakers continues to rise as a result of urbanization and mass transportation and communication. And while SA is a unifying language at the pan-Arab level, MA identifies speakers both regionally as Maghrebins (along with Algerians and Tunisians), and locally as Moroccans. Nevertheless, official policy has been to de-emphasize natively acquired MA and Berber in favor of already-standardized languages with well-established written traditions. It is clear from King Hassan's 1964 speech at the National Conference on Education that Moroccan language policy is conceived of in the framework of international politics: "If we make our children citizens living in a Muslim country but also children equipped to live in a great ensemble speaking French and English, we will be armed to face our difficulties and our choices...prepar(ing) us to be citizens of our country, of the African continent, and of the world"(cited in Gallagher, 1964: 149).

Toward a Sociolinguistic Profile of Morocco

By examining the 1981 Moroccan census figures, along with the discussions of Gravel, Boukous, Abbasi, and Heath drawn on above, a rough sociolinguistic profile of Morocco can begin to be sketched from which the following types of statements might be made:

1. Berber and Moroccan Arabic are the only natively-acquired languages (aside from the tiny fraction of the population who are native French-speakers).

2. Standard Arabic and French are the only commonly written languages, and as such are in what Boukous (1979a) calls a "state of competition", sharing a number of "functions" and "domains of usage" (although functional overlap is not complete).

3. Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic are in a diglossic relationship, although there is more functional overlap than Ferguson's (1959a) original model of functional complementarity might seem to imply (see below).

4. Moroccan Arabic is used as the national (oral) lingua franca, spoken by 75-90% of the Moroccan population.

5. If Berber-speakers want to communicate with anyone outside the limited area where their variety is spoken, they are forced to become multilingual, which usually means learning Moroccan Arabic.

6. Those least likely to speak Moroccan Arabic are rural Berber women who have little or no contact with those outside of their localities. Not surprisingly, this is also the group least likely to be involved in the public educational system. In 1982, only 13.2% of rural, school-aged (7-13) girls were enrolled in school, and fewer than 5% of rural females were literate (according to the 1981 census).

7. MA/Berber bilingualism, in varying degrees, is relatively common, though statistically undocumented (the 1981 census did not include a listing of Berber-speakers).[5]

Such statements, however useful, do not provide a complete profile of language distribution in Morocco. Treating "languages"[6] as separate, bounded (and labelled) codes, obscures the several types and degrees of code-switching and -mixing that are part of a full characterization of Moroccan language use.[7]

In a systematic study of foreign and diglossic mixing in Moroccan Arabic, Jeffrey Heath defines code-switching as "a pattern of textual production in which a speaker alternates between continuous utterance segments in one language Lx and another language Ly with abrupt and clearcut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal boundaries"(Heath, 1983: 37) Borrowing refers to ""the adaptation of a lexical item Py from Ly into Lx becoming Px (that is, a regular lexical item in Lx satisfying phonological, canonical-shape, and morphological rules for this language)" (Heath, 1983: 37). Heath then goes on to discuss the problematic nature of this idealized distinction, which is more accurately gradient than neatly binary. Following Heath, the discussion below uses code-switching to refer to switches between utterances, at either the phrasal or lexical level, in which the two codes (generally) do not affect each other. For example:

Wahed nuba kunt ana w Thami, on s'est arrêté
One time Thami and I, (we) stopped

juste au feu rouge, on parlait kunna bRina nmsiw
right at the stoplight, we were talking, we were going to go

lmra:ks.
to Marrakesh. (cited in Bentahila, 1983: 36)

Code-mixing subsumes Heath's borrowing, as well as not-quite-borrowed (that is, not-quite-fully morphologically adapted) forms like /ma-ta-y-t-ʔutiliza-w-s/, cited in Heath as a "spontaneous adaptation of Fr. utiliser retaining the Fr. vowels and Fr.

canonical shape of the stem, but with an entirely (MA) affixal frame" (Heath, 1983: 39).

The discussion below is primarily concerned with MA/SA and MA/Fr. switching and mixing, although instances of Berber/SA, Berber/MA, and Berber/Fr. switching and mixing have been informally observed but not yet systematically studied. Common examples of MA/SA switching and mixing may be found by examining Moroccan sportscasts, panel discussions, political interviews, and discussions of "academic, political, commercial, or Islamic" topics, where "a considerable admixture of CA (SA) stems and short phrases" may be found (Heath, 1983: 40. See section 4.3 for examples of MA/SA texts.). MA/Fr. varieties are "relatively common" among those "educated in schools where Fr. was used as an important medium of instruction," as well as among others who have worked in France or Belgium, or in French-speaking contexts in Morocco, e.g. banking, trade, tourism, and other bureaucratic or commercial settings. The "typical pattern" found by Heath has been for MA "to be the basic language with Fr. phrases inserted from time to time"--most commonly NPs, but including also PPs, adjectives, adverbials and conjunctions, and Fr. verbs inserted into MA morphological frames (see Heath, 1983, chapter 4, Bentahila, 1983, or Abbasi, 1977, for examples).

On the individual level, this means that a speaker's communicative competence (see Hymes, 1971, 1974) may include the ability to mix "Arabic and French parts of speech within the same speech event, the same sentence, or the same segment of talk" (Abbasi, 1977: 147).[8] An individual's expressive competence may include a wide

range of mixed registers, the choice of which on a given occasion will be sensitive to a complex of social factors.[9] At the group level of a sociolinguistic profile, it means that in some contexts, the language variety used will not be strictly identifiable as "French" or "MA" or "SA", but will in fact comprise an intricate (and rule-governed; again, see Abbasi (1977) and Heath (1983)) mixture of several "varieties". The type of "Arabic" used may vary across a range of registers, perhaps including code-switched/register-switched/borrowed vocabulary or morphology from SA, French, or Berber[10], and even a speaker fluent in all of these languages could conceivably not be a fully competent participant if s/he did not know which to speak when, and how to mix them.

Examples of code-switching and -mixing are common, and not limited to the oral mode: A national brand of fruit preserves is labelled (ldi:d), in Arabic script, a non-standard spelling that reflects MA pronunciation of the SA (laḏi:ḏ), "delicious"; at the same grocery store, the label on the butcher's scale reads, in Latin script, BIZERBA, a transliteration of MA "quickly". Telegrams may only be written in Latin (French) script, but examples of transliterated MA messages have been observed. Conversely, SA orthography may be borrowed for writing MA or Berber, most commonly for personal notes and letters. In Waterbury's North for the Trade, for example, the merchant Hadj Brahim recalls: "I used to write my mother and father in tashelhit using the Arabic script I had learned at Koran (sic) school" (Waterbury, 1972: 53. See also Gravel, 1979: 79). Almost all products come in ostensibly bi- or multi-lingual packages, but the information provided in each language is often not identical; to have access to all the packaging information, then, a consumer must read more than one language.[11] In other cases, written information is more strictly bilingual. On postal money-order forms and the destination signs at a large city bus

stop, for example, a reading knowledge of either SA or Fr. is sufficient. Television news, where official visits between heads of state and other international and national political topics are the usual fare, is in a Moroccan-accented SA. The weather, however--of immediate daily concern to a population still more than half rural/agricultural--is in MA. So are most advertisements. The king, during a nationally broadcast speech commemorating the Green March [12], began in a formal SA, later switched into MA for emotional immediacy ("I've lived among you, shared your bread..."), and ended with a flourish of SA, the voice of political and religious authority.

While various kinds of code-switching and -mixing are widespread, they are generally deplored (when not entirely unacknowledged) by those who use them. Of the respondants to Bentahila's language attitudes questionnaire, 75% "expressed their disapproval of code-switching, their attitudes ranging from pity to disgust" (Bentahila 1983: 37). Only 9.17% of his participants called it "an acceptable strategy of communication" (1983: 38).[13] For speakers, and for the scholars who study them, the mixing up of ideally discrete "varieties" goes against the classificatory grain. It is hard to construct a chart or a table when the lines between categories cannot be neatly drawn. Yet if the accuracy of a sociolinguistic profile is to affect the success of any language policy that works from it [14], a realistic profile of language use and distribution in Morocco must loosen the lines between idealized "languages" and take code-switching and -mixing into account.

Language Policy Since 1956

On the eve of independence from France in 1956, almost every civil servant

working in the Ministry of Education was French, as were over half of all teachers (this figure being much higher at the secondary and post-secondary levels, where the vast majority of teachers were not Moroccan nationals). Only about 12% of the school-aged population (aged 7-14), for these statistics (Gallagher, 1958) was enrolled in school, as "French policy was to educate a small, controllable native Moroccan elite rather than to provide mass European education" (Heath, 1983: 18). In his 1956 Speech from the Throne, King Mohamed V first spoke of the "Arabization" of education, a process involving four interrelated sets of problems, known as "unification", "moroccanization", "generalization", and the "modernization/standardization" of the Arabic language itself.

At the time of Moroccan independence there were three separate types of education in Morocco, each having grown out of a different set of historical (and, concurrently, linguistic) circumstances. The Arabo-Islamic system, dating back to the earliest Arab conquests of the seventh century, included (1) Qur'anic schools, which offered introductory reading and writing instruction, but centered on memorizing the Qur'an, (2) medrasas and zaouias, where Arabic grammar and literature as well as beginning level Islamic theology and jurisprudence were taught, and (3) Islamic universities, the oldest and most prestigious of which was the famed Karaouiyine University in Fes, founded in 859 (see Wagner and Lotfi, 1980). Under the Protectorate, the French introduced a system of secular public schools based on their own system. Aside from the few hours a week devoted to Arabic language and Islamic Civilization (the number of hours varied from school to school) all subjects were taught in French. In the "franco-berber" schools, instruction in Arabic was all but eliminated, in the divide-and-rule effort to split "Berbers" from "Arabs". Enrollment in all of these schools, whose "goal was essentially to train subaltern personnel for

the administrative and technical services of the Protectorate" (Moatassime, 1978: 30 my translation), was limited to a tiny elite. The écoles libres, the third type, were created by Moroccan nationalists content with neither of the above systems. After various unsuccessful attempts at renovating the Qur'anic schools, they began to found the écoles libres in the 1930s, private schools modelled after the French system, but using Arabic as the language of instruction (Moatassime, 1978). The goal of this unification was to make some order of these disparate and internally heterogeneous systems, and to this end the public école nationale was established.

"Moroccanization" of personnel and "generalization" of instruction to a wider population combined to pose formidable problems which continue to face Morocco even today, thirty years later, as foreign teachers are phased out and the number of students increases annually. The first academic year following independence saw the entry of 150,000 new pupils into the school system, compared to the usual 25,000 or so of Protectorate years, at the same time as 2000 French teachers were lost. The combined effects of this loss of teachers and massive influx of students caused enormous problems of overcrowding that year, "with as many as 110 children in some classes" (Gallagher, 1958: 5). School attendence was made compulsory for children aged 7-13 by a royal decree (dahir) in 1963. Half of Morocco's population is under the age of 20, with a growth rate of 3%--among the world's highest. Between 1971-81, as a result of these combined factors, school enrollment more than doubled.

Finally, the "modernization" and "standardization" of the Arabic language is a process which concerns all of the Arabic-speaking and -writing world.[15] In a comparative study of Classical and Iraqi Arabic, Altoma (1970 (1974)) discusses two orthographic problems often cited by advocates of modernizing the Arabic writing

system:(1) the "plurality of letter variations" (i.e., the different shapes of each letter in word-initial, -medial, and -final positions) which are said to cause both economic and educational difficulties (too costly to print, and too numerous to learn readily), and(2) the absence of short vowel markings, which "makes it difficult to read correctly without a large measure of alertness and discrimination, even for well-educated readers"[16] (1970 (1974): 283). Altoma also outlines proposed "reforms" of Classical Arabic (SA) grammar, and the creation of a standardized scientific and technical vocabulary.

To facilitate the modernization/standardization process, in 1960 the Institute of Studies and Research for Arabization was founded, as part of Mohammed V University in Rabat. The Institute's first goals were to compile a picture dictionary for use in the primary grades and a French-Arabic dictionary of administrative terminology, "then to turn to a general expansion of Arabic in the fields of science, and finally to develop the linguistic base for the Arabization of the three cycles of education over 15 to 20 years" (Zartman, 1964: 190). Since its inception, the Institute has concentrated on the development and standardization of Arabic as a modern language of science and technology. Its lexicographers have produced dictionaries of general administrative terms, technical equipment, math, physics and natural sciences, banking, and finance. In an effort to remedy the orthographic problems mentioned above, the "Unified Arabic Code" was developed which, by reducing the number of letter-variants (by breaking letters into their component parts) and (re-) introducing partial vowelling, has made the Arabic alphabet more efficient for typing, more economical for typesetting and printing, and in the process, adapted for use in computers.

In fact, much of the Institute's current work seems to focus on making Arabic computerizable and at the same time intertranslatable with Western technical languages, primarily French and English. One heavily-financed project, for example, is the compilation of a computerized quadra-lingual (Arabic, Latin, French, and English) technical dictionary. This high-tech approach to modernizing the Arabic language is an ambitious undertaking, but whether it is possible to make Arabic into a generative technical language--that is, whether all these newly-minted, -computerized terms will come to be widely accepted and used--remains to be seen. For now, scientific and technical fields continue to operate in French and, increasingly, in English. High school science classes are still taught in French, although Arabization is working its way up through the educational system (see below), and the Institute's linguistic products may yet find a ready market.

These sets of problems have been juggled by policy-makers from 1956 onwards in their attempts to formulate a program of Arabization. The fortunes of these successive programs, though, have risen and fallen along with the political fortunes of their proponents, so that the implementation of a given program was often barely off the ground before a new one was proclaimed in its place, without sufficient time for evaluation or continuity.[17] And even as Arabization was being loudly championed and hastily legislated, as Moroccan nationals replaced the French personnel in government bureaucracies and clerical jobs, there was an increasing demand for persons with a knowledge of French. As Heath (1983) explains:

> To satisfy this need, it was necessary to greatly expand the teaching of French in schools, and for this purpose a large number of French nationals were imported or kept on as teachers, not only of the French language itself, but also of arithmetic, science, and other academic subjects... In this fashion, French achieved far

> greater currency in postcolonial Morocco than it had in the colonial period itself, even though the native French population declined. Most Moroccan intellectuals in this period were educated in France,...the French language gradually lost some of its stigma as a language of colonial oppression and became an avenue for socioeconomic advancement. (Heath, 1983: 19-20)

But despite this post-Protectorate expansion of French, and the variability of official language policy, Arabization has made slow progress over the last thirty years. In 1962, the Ministry of Justice was declared Arabized, as were the Faculty of Law's juridical studies [18] in 1975. A 1977 dahir (royal decree) proclaimed that all correspondence between citizens and the government, and between "non-technical" government departments would be in Arabic, and "important government documents" would be translated into Arabic. By the 1984-85 academic year, the ecole nationale had been Arabized up through the second year of (first cycle) secondary school-that is, all subjects were taught in Arabic, except for French itself which is taught as a foreign language. The third year of secondary school was scheduled to be Arabized the following year.

The Arabization of Education--Policy vs. Practice

On paper, the statement that classroom instruction has been "Arabized" up through the second and third year of secondary school seems straightforward enough. But what does such a policy mean in classroom practice, to the teachers and students it most directly affects? What looks to be a smooth transition from one policy to another when a given subject is Arabized--this year math will be studied in French, next year in Standard Arabic--is in reality a complicated undertaking which places differing demands on its different participants according to their previous training and abilities.

As an example, let us take the case of Youssef, a first cycle (junior high) math instructor in a Marrakech secondary school. After studying for five years in a private French school (a prestigious Protectorate holdover) whose curriculum included only one and a half hours per week of Arabic language study, his certificate of primary studies exam was given entirely in French. He transferred at that time to a public secondary school, but because he pursued a math and sciences program, he studied Arabic language and literature, and the accompanying Islamic Civilization, for only four to six hours per week during his seven years of secondary scholing. At the regional teacher-training college following graduation, he chose to specialize in math, where all courses were taught in French, save a nominal two hours per week of Arabic grammar. Since finishing his studies in 1978, he has taught all four levels of first cycle secondary school math.

From 1978-84, these courses were taught in French, using French textbooks, French pedagogy, and the French language for all instruction and explanation (and even, claims Youssef, for disciplining students and making extra-curricular announcements)[19]. In the fall of 1984, however, Arabization finally worked its way up into his classroom. His two classes of fourth-year math were to be taught in French as always, but for an hour a day, he was expected to teach math to a class of second-year students in Standard Arabic, never having studied it himself in that language.

He did not enter the classroom that fall wholly unprepared. The previous spring and summer he had attended two ten-day Arabization ("re"-) training sessions sponsored by the Ministry of Education. At these sessions participants translated French textbooks into Arabic, attended lectures, and took part in discussions and

practice lessons where they could exchange observations, corrections, and suggestions. Trainees were also provided with a French-Arabic math lexicon to aid in future translation problems.[20] Thus armed, they were sent off to teach in their now-Arabized classrooms.

Youssef's confidence in the efficacy of these re-training periods seemed to waver. At one point in our discussion, he admitted that the two sessions were not enough, that they (the teachers) could use another, more comprehensive session focused more generally on the Arabic language, not just on terminology translation; later, however, he said that given the new review book (see footnote 20), and another few years of practice, his level of SA would be comfortably adequate for doing his job. For that first class of second-year students (1984-85), he felt unprepared at first, spent much more time than usual planning his lessons, and felt ill at ease in class, but by the end of that year, he estimated that about 80% of his classroom talk was in SA. There are numerous reasons, political and personal, for making such an optimistic assertion, but failing the observational data to substantiate it,[21] Youssef's claim should at least be tempered by a contrasting case.

To find out more about patterns of language use in recently Arabized math classes, observations[22] were made in a Middle Atlas village school in the spring of 1985. The first-grade teacher of the class observed spoke a mixture of SA and MA[23], at the far MA-end of the MA-SA continuum for commands like "look at the chalkboard" and "show me your slates", and becoming more Standard-ized for actually working the problems, though he never spoke, during the observations, a full sentence that could be classed as wholly "Standard". When the students went to the chalkboard to write an exercise, they narrated their work in a kind of

Standard-flavored MA, saying [sitta] (MA [stta]) and [tis'a] (MA [tsa'ud]), [fi] (MA [f]) and [bi] (MA [b]), but otherwise speaking an Arabic much more Moroccan than Standard. Nor was the written language used in this class free from non-SA "impurities". Numbers, as in the rest of formerly-French North Africa, were written Western-style (not the actual Arabic numbers used in the Middle East) and quantity terms (e.g., centimeter, kilogram, meter) are abbreviated in Latin (French) script (cm., k., m.). In addition, though the Arabic text was written from right to left, equations and the like went from left to right, sometimes creating spacing difficulties when the area required for working a given problem was underestimated, and the equation ran into the text.

After the lesson, the teacher explained to me that he purposely uses MA in his class, "so the students' math problems won't be compounded by language problems." There are other possible explanations as well. In the two-teachers-per-class system at the fifth grade level, the Arabic teacher also teaches history and geography while the math teacher doubles as French instructor. Educated under some variety of the old, not yet Arabized system, it is probably no accident that a teacher with far more training in French than in SA would find MA--his own language--the best medium of instruction when French was no longer an option.[24] Perhaps Youssef was fortunate enough to pick up enough SA along the way to be musterable for use later on, with some additional practice and training. How many teachers were not? It seems doubtful, despite Youssef's optimistic assertions to the contrary, that one or two ten-day brush-up sessions, a bilingual subject lexicon, and a home-review book, will be enough to prepare French-trained instructors to teach in SA. How often does "Arabization" mean converting the language of (oral) classroom activity to MA, or some intermediate variety, whether by choice, by default, or some combination of the

two? And if the SA called for in official policy is at best only unevenly used in the classroom, how are students to hear or practice enough of it to develop fluency?[25]

Many teachers, then, find themselves caught between the transitional cracks of these changing systems. On the other side of the desk are a large percentage of students caught between cracks of their own. Moroccan students, in a system modelled after the French, take a series of exams at the end of each school year. If a student's composite average falls below the passing minimum, s/he must retake ("redouble") the entire year over again. Each year, 30, 40, 50% or more of a given class may have to retake the following year; it is a rare student who does not redouble at least once in the course of her/his schooling. This system of setbacks and false starts, when combined with a language policy that progressively "Arabizes" one grade level per year, creates potentially serious problems for not-yet-"Arabized" students who redouble themselves back into a now"Arabized" class. A third-year secondary student who has studied math only in French for seven or eight years, might suddenly find him/herself expected to carry on her/his studies in Arabic, with a classful of fellows who have been doing so all along.[26,27]

Different schools have different procedures for accommodating such students. In some, they are placed in special French sections and allowed to continue as before. In others, they are put in special, remedial Arabic sections, which move at a slower pace than the regular ones. Other such students are simply assigned to a regular Arabized section and left to fend. All of these procedures have their drawbacks, either postponing a student's eventual adaptation to a soon-to-be-Arabized workplace or university[28], or retarding a student's progress in a given subject, or, at worst, dooming a student to failure in a sink-or-swim situation that makes no allowances for her/his linguistic unpreparedness. Conversely, those "Arabized" students who reach

the university may find that pharmacy, medicine, engineering, economics, and so on, are still studied in French. If so, a session of "terminology translation" and a complimentary technical dictionary may not be enough to fit them for studying these subjects in a foreign language. The not-so-smooth transition from one educational language policy to another might involve over 50% of the students enrolled over a 15-20 year period (see Moatassime, 1974). The confusion it causes might well leave these students, as is often claimed by their teachers, and by older former students of previous systems, unprepared to "function" in either SA or French and less well-trained in the subjects that are taught in them, in effect producing an enormous ill-educated "lost generation" of sorts (see Bentahila, 1983: 125-126).

Conclusion

Part of the problem is of course a result of political/economic factors. Indeed, the argument has often been advanced that an "Arabization" which advertises itself as a way to equalize opportunity may in reality act to perpetuate the pre-independence elitism institutionalized in exclusive private schools that continue to emphasize French.[29] But part of it is, in a sense, a problem of classification. Like the sociolinguistic profile that could not (realistically) be squeezed into tidy rows and columns, Morocco's current policy of Arabization has not followed the smooth path of implementation idealized by its planners. What on paper appears to be a swift and orderly shift from one policy of language use to another, is in practice a slower and messier business.

If indeed the goal of Morocco's current language policy is the eventual Arabization of the nation's administration, education, and economy (a necessary, if

unverifiable, assumption, if one is to work at effecting the stated policy), the changeover will require more than the 10-20 years projected for Arabizing the schools. Provisions must be made for a long period of transitional bilingualism (the actual state of things, though not the official one) until the last of those trained under the old system(s) have finally been replaced by a younger, differently trained generation. A developing nation cannot afford to waste trained personnel in an over-hasty switch from one policy to another. By allowing the already educated to make full use of their training, rather than spending limited resources on inadequate retraining efforts, a prudent policy would steer a compromise between symbolic/linguistic and economic/productive goals.

Just as sociolinguistic profiles end up looking somehow neater than the real-world patterns of language use on which they are based, so planning models for language use tend to project fewer complexities than actually occur in the course of their implementation. If sociolinguistic models are to be useful descriptive tools, they must be built up from analyses of language use in social contexts, and forego Cartesian lines of classification if the data do not yield them up.

Every "descriptive" statement about language is also necessarily theoretical. Some levels of idealization are nevertheless more useful than others, for specific purposes. It may be useful, for example, to retain the concept of "language variety" for the purpose of discussing language use in schools, but in the case of Morocco, it seems equally useful for a model to allow for switched and/or mixed "varieties". Similarly, if language planning models are to be effectively implemented, they must begin with a realistic assessment of the situation to be planned for, and of the time required to effect any real changes.

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Notes

1 See Gravel (1979) or Abbasi (1977) for discussions of the regional distribution of these dialects .

2 A much broader range of spoken contexts than SA: "Outside of the schools and certain Arabized Facultés within Mohammed V University, CA (SA) is not used in speech...CA is never spoken at home or in the streets" (Abbasi, 1977: 192) .

3 See also Ferguson (1959b) and Hamzaoui, S. (1976).

4 Witness the growing number of cafes and boutiques sporting names like "Colorado", "Dallas", "Yum Yum Burgers", "Plum Pudding", and "Pretty".

5 Abbasi estimates that among the Berber speakers, about 45% are monolingual, the rest are bilingual or trilingual" (1977: 228).

6 See Hudson (1980: Chapter 2) for a much different model of "language varieties".

7 See Boukous (1979a) for a sociolinguistic profile with similarly neat lines of classification .

8 See Abbasi (1977) and Bentahila (1983) for excellent examples of both inter- and intra-sentential code-switching, and especially Abbasi for description and discussion of the mixed variety he terms "Franco-Arabic".

9 See Hymes (1974) "Toward ethnographies of communication" for discussion of such factors .

10 Little, if any, work has to date been done on Berber-Arabic code-switching and -mixing among bilinguals.

11 This applies only to the minority of Moroccans who can read in any script. See direction de la statistique, 1984

12 November 6 (1975), when thousands of Moroccan citizens marched south into the Sahara .

13 which Bentahila finds "ironic...in view of the fact that this speech pattern is a distinctive characteristic of Moroccans" (1983: 37).

14 By no means a proven assumption, but a useful one if theory is to relate to practice.

15 There is as yet no empirical evidence to confirm these assertions.

16 Contrary to frequent assertions that Arabization means restoring Arabic to its pre-Protectorate position, Arabic in the 1930s (and 1980s) was and is being asked to fulfill functions that did not exist in pre-Protectorate times. see Grandguillaume (1977: 99)

17 For detailed discussions of these changing policies, see Gallagher (1958a and

1938b), Zartman (1964), and Moatassime (1978).

18 Though see Abou-Abdou (1984) on the difficulty of translating legal texts. The original French texts continue to be used "à toutes les étapes des procedures judiciares" (1984: 26).

19 These claims and similar ones later made about SA, offered in the course of an extended informal interview, unfortunately could not be investigated in classroom observations, but are nevertheless useful indicators of Youssef's perceptions of his own language use in the classroom, before and after "Arabization".

20 In March 1985, the Ministry of Education distributed a second book--an Arabic grammar and vocabulary "review"--and instructed the teachers to study it over the summer as preparation for teaching the following fall.

21 School was already out of session by the time of the interview.

22 Brief, and offered here only as a contrast to the suspiciously problem-free scenario above. A fuller study of the complex patterns of oral and written language use in Moroccan primary school math classes is now in progress.

23 Zartman (1964) speaks of the language of primary school instruction twenty years previously as "a hodgepodge of dialectal Moroccan and Classical Arabic, depending on the teacher: (1964: 167).

24 Not all the students benefit equally from this use of MA to supplement SA explanation; though fast becoming fluent in MA, perhaps 60-70% of the students in this classroom were native Berber-speakers. In schools where virtually all students are Berber-speakers, local Berber teachers may use Berber for the same purpose (Alison Geist, personal communication).

25 See Altoma (1970 (1974)) for a similar argument about Iraqi Arabic

26 That is, whose textbooks have been in SA, and whose oral work has fallen within some range of the MA to SA spectrum

27 See Bentahila for discussion of the opposite problem, at an earlier phase of Arabization, when students "began elementary science and arithmetic in Arabic (and) later had to change their routine and suddenly adapt to studying these subjects in French at the end of their primary education (1983: 123)

28 Should policy changes indeed by implemented as planned .

29 Bentahila (1983) writes of Arabization planners themselves "who nevertheless send their own children to French schools, while still preaching Arabization as best for the masses...While such people may publicly express support for the teaching of traditional culture in schools, they are at the same time reluctant to abandon the advantages of a knowledge of the French language and culture for their own children" (1983: 124). And Abbasi (1977) concludes that "(p)roficiency in French, and in the fields that are exclusively taught in it, is indeed the key to penetration of modern life with its desirable advantages, e.g., better jobs, higher

standards of living, etc." (1977: 226). See also Grandguillaume (1977: 106) and Moatassime (1974: 626) for a similar argument

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